UKRAINE REBORN AS NATION AFTER 263 YEARS IN SERFDOM

RussianRevolution Offers Chance for Some 30,000,000 People to Achieve Their National Aspirations for Centuries Smothered by Autocracy of Muscovites

The author of the following pricle. George Raffalovich, is an authority on Ukraine. The son of Ukrainian father and a French wother, he was born and educated in France. Until the Russian revotion he signed his writings on Russian questions with the name Bedwin Sands." From 1912 to 1914 he was honorary secretary of the Ukraine Committee, which he lounded in London. Besides his perious political works he is the puthor of two novels and several dumes of short stories and poems.

TERALDED by a few contradictory cablegrams, a new nation comes to life. After 263 years subjection to the Russian Czars Graine sets up her own Government and treats with the provisional Minstry of Russia on terms of equality. % Americana this may mean little beand the fact that concessions must obtained anew, a new language sarned, that the military bands may ave to play a new national anthemand a very fine anthem it is, too-and hat children must study a geography which parents may never master.

-To those who have tolled unceasingly on behalf of the Ukrainian peogle it means a great deal more. To the wor'd at large it means inculculable change To historians it will indicate the turefug point of the war.

nion signed by the Hetman of Ckraine, Bohdan Chmielnitzky, in 1654, the present day Ukrainian delegates.

the Romanoff's carried so lightly. It neighbors is well able to resist any she have been sitting in congress in is no less absurd on their part to say encroachment unless it has political that they do not know where Ukraine support. It will facilitate this study Kiev since June. 1917, surrounded and begins and ends. protected by Ukrainian troops, affirmed heir willingness to support the new Government of Russia on terms which were agreed to by the wisest members ous country lying east of Poland, Austria and Bessarabia, extending to the Dnieper). Podelia, Volhynia, Kiev

her own Cabinet. The Ukrainian Min
To the northwest of the Ukrainian the Steppe Ukraine, comprising Eks-

Merty Ukraine will take her part in which has been used by the Russian the fight for worldwide liberty. The being the most thorough example of alles should welcome this new proof this policy. of Europe's liberation from a great

Ukrainian Demands Met.

frament at the revolution, the Minis-that there were 22,000,000 Ukrainians ers Tereschtenko and Tseretelli, in the Russian Empire, backed by the great life force of Rusian delegates assembled in Kiev, the where they have, especially Russia prepared to let Ukraine en-

han Government who belonged to the Mountains. igned and were replaced. Ukrainian demands were granted.

They had to be; if the revolution very small. was at all sincere it had to make good

Truage It dealt with the possible Caucasus, the Black Sea, the ration of the map of Europe which pathlan Mountains and the San River. would follow the separation of Ukraine from the Russian Empire. A Ukraine

ill me that the L'kraine



Photo Copyright, Underwood & Underwood On the basis of an ancient treaty of A. F. Kerensky, the youthful Minister who is Russia's main hope.

Boundaries of Ukraine.

Ukraine forms one great homogene- Russia are: of the Russian Cabinet.

There is now in Kiev a Ukrainian Parliament with a responsible Government which has complete executive power within Ukraine. Ukraine elects the complete executive power within Ukraine elects the complete executive power within Ukraine elects the complete executive power within Ukraine. Ukraine elects the complete executive power within ukraine elects the complete executive powe

stry will discuss with Russia all points that need to be discussed. The peace, amily and concernitor between the control of these territories is the real country 4. North Caucasus, adjacent to the amity and cooperation between the of the Muscovite or Great Russians, region of the Don Cossacks, compris- sive aristocracy, in Ukraine all were guarantee and respect the perpetual against Jews, and so on. Protestants Constitution was gradually explained

But on the whole, geographically and ethnographically speaking. Ukraine is a separate unit, a large and singularly nogeneous country The Ukrainian leaders who had can hardly be less than 35,000,000 at

Taking the figures usually given by sia Kerensky, presented on July 15 to-day 29,000,000 Tkrainians in the isst in the form of a courteous ulti-matum, the declarations of the Ukraintween one and two millions in Siberia, capital of Ukraine. Was the New Amur region, extensive settlements; three and a haif millions in eastern Joy the rights guaranteed to her in Galicia, four hundred thousand in northern Bukovina and perhaps half The ultimatum did not meet with the a million in northern Hungary on the proval of those members of the Rus- southern slopes of the Carpathian K D. or Constitutional Democratic be added the half million Ukrainians They were mild reformers who who are at the present time in the had done good work before the revolu- United States, probably as many in tion, but were by no means progres- the Dominion of Canada, a few thouthe enough to suit the taste of the sand in Australia and about fifty thoupajority of the Russian leaders. They sand in Brazil. There are Ukrainian The settlements in Turkey, in the Dobrudja and in southern Hungary, but they are

The bulk of the Ukrainians consists he damage done by the Romanoffs, therefore of those in Ukrainian Rus-Their broken pledges had to be carried sia, in Galicia and in Bukovina, for Out Ukrainlans asked nothing more they inhabit the compact territory than the putting into practice of the which is only artificially, or shall we treaty of union between their country say politically, divided between Rusand Russia. This settlement of a long sia, Austria and Hungary. Leaving sanding dispute has far reaching con- out the Rusniaks or Ukrainians of Hungary, who express no desire to The Ukraine question has been fre- work politically with the other mem quently discussed since the beginning bors of their nation and who insist, 1912, when the writer published the even in America, upon societies of first pamphlet on the subject which their own, we have a population of has been printed in the English over \$3,000,000 stretched between the

was also formed by me to Perhaps because of the huge mass diffuse knowledge of matters Ukrai- of humanity which populates this re-Since the war began few books gion and the difficulties of travel, Russians themselves and upon the have been published dealing with the which were not lessened by restricsubject nations of Europe but con- tions imposed upon foreigners by the study of the claims of Russian passport regulations. and of the various solutions Ukrainians have preserved to a degree ed by I krainians themselves, almost unheard of elsewhere a unity of their friends and by those who op- speech and customs. The result is division of the Russian na- that from one end of Ukraine to the should look upon the history of the three branches. Great other there are no more than four or Ukraine people since the treaty of Russians and Little perhaps five-dialects, with very slight Pereyaslav. variations at that,

> Russia the most seri- Galleia, either Polish and Jewish or does not inspire the desire of many of making. There had come to life a e that confronted her, wholly J wish, and in Russian educated Ukrainlans to acknowledge a desire to free the entire people he late Ruesian Gov- Ukraine, Jewish and Russian. Even distinct political entity in the year of Ukraine within its ethnographical a stogether, could not Kiev was in 1916 a Russian city to all age its discussion, for intents and purposes. The Ukrainand the Empire there lans, who have always evinced a When it disappeared as all monarchies State of Ukraine. all soons to it arising strong d'albie for town life, are mostly must the next organization that kept In spite of the number of insurof Ulrama nationals of the small farmer type, 32 per cent. the Ukraine lands together was the gents, who totalled about 200,000 men made made is of of them being there of the soil. The republic of the Cossachs, whose do- at the beginning of the war of 1648. astern changes in their cities have not after main overlapped Lithuania and Pa-1 their leaders did not consider and for the K. D's. I sted them to may large extent . villages the Chramitan whose I traine bott,

if we mention first of all the official division of the land into governments. The purely Ukrainian governments of

was the Kiev kingdom, then during this free State, the Tatar invasion when various

The Cossnek Republic.

The claims of the Ukrainian people o a life of their own have been derided by certain historians, minimized several, weighed against the claims of the Great Russian nation by others. and often found wanting. It is not easy to non-Slav readers to appreciate the niceties of the somewhat complicated discussion which has been going on for the last twenty years. The early name of the Ukraine people is now become the name of their northern neighbors. The Muscovites are now the Russians and the Ukrainians have ceased to use that name for themselves. Translators are often misled and cannot always be relied upon to transmit to us the precise neaning of the Slav writer.

It was not on the historical basis that the Ukrainian people wished to establish a strong case in support of for nationalism. To attempt to base Konashevich Sahaidachnyi, they bethe claims of a nation on history alone is to invite ridicule and to bring back strange memories concerning the Holy

The claims of Ukraine were based upon the present day differences be- in history, and so he was; if by nothtween Great and Little Russia, upon divergent cultures, differing civilizanims as opposed to the system of govgeneral desire to split up the Slavs gle ccording to logical divisions. Finally, there is the fact that the two lauguages and civilizations are growing further apart, expanding in different directions. It is in this light that we The question whether Ukraine constituted what we should creded all the traditional complaints The towns, however, are, in eastern term to-day a state before that treaty which the Cossacks were in the habit

bond, who occupied much of the eration of the people possible by the

If he offended he was incontinently nlizky to decide for Muscovy.

deprived of office. of all classes of the community who ning of the seventeenth century. by a series of decrees. When any to war with Poland in the hope of section of the Ukrainian community using the Cossacks against Poland, was dissatisfied with the person or thus killing two birds with one atone. the policy of the Herman it was en-titled to call together a Rada, which and a crafty negotiator, he certainly pelled to resign.

The weakness of that too popular Pereyaslav. and democratic government caused the We must, however, keep in mind lish, called "Taras Bulba."

western Europe. Their precepts were Muscovy, Ukraine, Moldavia and the obedience, piety, chastity and equality. Slavs of the Balkans. This alliance The Assembly was the only authority would have been directed against they recognized. The Hetman (head-man) was elected by, and was respon-and above all the weakness of the sible to, the Assembly for his actions. Turkish Government, inclined Chmiel

Muscovy feared war with Poland and The Assembly, called Rada, was peri-odical and comprised representatives that nation had indicted at the beginoften criticised freely the policy of the till 1653 did Moscow decide to extend Hetman. In the interval between her protection to the Cossack army Radas the Hetman ruled the country and to Ukraine by committing herself

in such cases was called a Black Rada lacked foresight. Playing off the Poles if the Black Rada happened to be against the Muscovites or the Turks representative enough, and the complaint met with the approval of the with Sweden, he fell in the traps set by majority, the Hetman might be com- Muscovy and signed in 1654 the much discussed but little respected treaty of

ruin of Ukraine, just as the impossible what was the main idea of Hetman veto system caused the fall of Po- Chmielnitzky in the momentous neland. Some very interesting light is gotiations. He wished once and for thrown upon those days by Gogol in all to snatch away from the Poles his book, often translated into Eng- the whole of the Ukrainian lands or at least as much of them as would While the Muscovites lived under prove possible; and to accomplish that an absolute monarchy, while the Poles task he needed the help of Muscovy, were ruled by a haughty and exclu-which would, he fancied at the time,



Bohdan Chmielnitzky, Hetman of the Cossacks of the Ukraine, who signed the treaty of Pereyaslav.

These are the recognized divisions freedom. The science of war was there had been first conceived by these if he revolts, against whom? in Ukraine, but they are mostly arti-ficial and due to administrative neces-sities and to the viciasitudes which be-sities and to the viciasitudes which bebrought to high perfection. At the Ukrainian Bishops.

stress, later when the Cossack respective was at that time. The whole of public flourished and last, during the Ukraine, or rather all that was left of changed for the worse. The new Het-It after the Tatar incursions, was man found that the insidious advance Ukrainian people. The Ukrainian population in the easily conquered by Lithuania, and the of the Muscovites in Ukraine had Mazeppa's revoit had angered the no Ukraine nationalism. "There was into Ukraine partly to the fact that Russian Empire is about 19 per cent.

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of the same time the premacy of the Ukrainian fietmans dictionary, unless it meant frontier.

Russians and of foreigners who know Russians having 41 per cent, the uanian kingdom. Being, however, of power of Muscovy was waxing greater, and replaced them by flussian offi-White Russians 5 per cent, the Poles higher culture than the conquerors the He also obtained confirmation of the cials and by institutions similar to Ferdinand was murdered. 'Your Czar because of the city life which

formed part of the Polish kingdom, Ukrainians. but still preserved her autonomy. The Jealous eye the democracy of Ukraine people of the Left Bank observing their significant of them all. Skoropadsky and resolved to prevent its influence allegiance to the Czar, while those When the latter died Peter died prosperity they enjoyed was drained from them by the Shlakhta (or nobles), and flocking in crowds to Ukraine.

Then began constant warfare be-tween the Poles and the Ukraine Cos-King Stefan Batory, a Polish King, but a Hungarian by birth, who reigned from 1576 to 1586, had practically recognized the complete tonomy of Ukraine; but his successors did not follow his policy. In 1592 the Cossacks, under Kosinski, were defeated; but in 1612, under the Hetman came again very powerful. They destroyed Sinope, pillaged Trebizond and burned the Turkish fleet. Hetman Konashevich has been de-

scribed as one of the greatest Slavs ing else this is shown in the many schools which he founded. The Polish ons, upon democratic and cooperative aristocracy only achieved the subjec-

The social and political disturbances of Ukraine grew worse. Each struginspired fresh energy is I krainians till at last prolonged remissis (1638-47) led to a revolutio In 1648 the people rose, led by Bohdan "imielnitzky. The Polish army was

Chmielnitaky's Revolt.

The demands of the insurgents exfrontiers, to get rid of an alien aris-The Rurik dynasty founded Ukraine. locracy and to reconstitute the ancient

means at their disposal. " . : coax are, which mentality is superior to that of his . The Cossacks were organized some- dignitaries of Kiev wished to create a



Michael Tereschtenko.

1687. At first he made a show of de- went to prison or to Siberia. bition was to shake off the Muscovite yoke and regain freedom for his country, with himself as its ruler.

brought his Cossack regiments to the the Ukrainian peasantry. Swedish army and tried to rouse

Swedish army, and in 1709 at Poltava the Czar and his advisers and how to drove the King of Sweden beyond the boundaries of Ukraine. Mazeppa joined in the Swedish flight and died. They succeeded with the help of an

Mazeppa's Rise and Downfall. sities and to the vicissitudes which be-fell the country, first of all when it onic world is proud of the history of hold the rights of his people against Empire was founded. It was to last to Peter the Great the chance for Ukrainian members elected to Muscovy. Nevertheless, every one of more than two centuries. Its disin-It is on the Poles that lies the stigma them had had the letter of the treaties tegration in the course of the next few exiles followed. Ukrainian States arose to preserve of wrecking this promising nation, the national life in those times of the national life in those times of since it was under Poland that Ekraine the spirit of them was little respected. This constitute less than and spread even to France and

> conquered provinces gave their lan- previous arrangements. But the form those which represented his power in is was already altered. It was no longer all the provinces of Muscovite Russia. When the male line died in Poland an alliance between equals. There were Since that policy was one which reand Lithuania became united to Po- desires formulated by the Czur and a quired craft, Peter the Great did not land in 1569 the whole of Ukraine formal acquiescent reply from the abolish all at once the office of Het- ing. man. When the next election took but still preserved her autonomy. The When Mazeppa first came to the plate and he had to choose one of the Lemberg, gave it back its Russian stamped with Great Russian characteristics, but these will rapidly disapple the found Ukraine divided, the candidates he nominated the most infrom reaching Poland. It was only of the Right Bank had staken off his allow another one to be elected and sian province of Lemberg, was the severest measures that could pre-rule under their Hetman, Dorosbenko, appointed instead one of his own flor. elated and became again the dust rule under their Hetman. Doroshenko, appointed instead one of his own Gen- clated, and began again the distribut vent the Polish farmers and seasants Mazeppa threw in his lot with Doro- erals to head the Government of tion of "relief" to those Poles and from quitting their farms, where any shenko, who made him his Chan- Ukraine. Peter the Great also it was Ukrainians who had helped him in the cellor, and in 1674 sent him on a mis- who forbade the publication of books past sion to Constantinople to ask for written in the Ukrainian language his innocence and was set free. was who sent the Cossacks to the hard I krainians of Austria hope Meanwhile Doroshenko had fallen and deadly work of draining the members of the new nation was who sent the Cossacks to the hard | Ukralnians of Austria hope to become into the Czar's hands, and Mazeppa marshes where he proposed to build. The exodus of Russian Ukrainians six times greater than Ukraine track

went to the Hetman of the left Bank, his new capital of St. Felerants.

Samollovich. The latter being accused. Petrograd. These works cost many of treachery and deposed. Mazeppa Ukrainian Cossacks their lives. All ment in Russian Ukraine was automotive and Ukraine in those who manifested any opposition matic. Its life was fostered by

I kraine Revives.

The situation in Ukraine never improved after Poltava. It grew worse. In the year 1708 he called to his nelp Ukraine lest all her rights one by one Russian Ukrainians who emigrated the King of Sweden, who was then until men had forgotten her very to Lemberg. It was mostly financed at war with the Czar Peter the Great, name. Then came the Japanese war there and abroad by Russian, Cana-

an independent State. Mazeppa re-minded Charles XII. of the promises a good beginning. The first and second which Sweden had given on that sub-ject to Bohdan Chmicinitzky. He tion of nationalist deputies elected by

The bureaucratic clique, the Black Hundreds and the pan-Russians set It was too late. Peter the Great smoth- their minds to the solving of two new ered the Ukrainian revolt, routed the problems-how to poison the minds of

in exile shortly afterward. unlooked for ally. The Socialist par-The leading principles of the Muscovite policy were now well estab- Ukrainian nationalist movement. The lished. They set Ukrainians against result of this unboly alliance for the

Mazeppa's defeat at Poltava at the Ukrainian press took what comfort it side of Charles XII. of Sweden gave could in the thought that these sixty

Confiscations, prohibitions, arrests, lieve that there was no Ckraine nation.

mir Bobrinsky, cousin of the newly When the latter died Peter did not appointed Governor of the new Rus- those of Muscovy.

Country of Mazeppa Will Aid Allies to Free Fellow Nationals Under Austrian Domination -Bulk of Redeemed Land Given Over to Farming Purposes

into Austrian Ukraine, that is, eastern Galicia, brought about an extraordinary situation there. The new comers helped to organize a national move-ment in castern Galicia. It is always alleged that the Austrian Government created the Ukraine movement, but I do know, and many Englishmen who were with me in Galicia in 1914 remarked upon the same fact, that some of the hardest workers for the Ukraine movement in Austria were Ukrainians from Russia.

I have myself seen Ukrainian peasants from the heart of Little Russia who had come to Lemberg at their own expense and with some difficulty weeping as they visited the Ukrainian schools where Ukrainian boys and girls could learn their own tongue, a privilege which was not allowed to their own children.

Not Made in Germany.

The newly won independence of Russian Ukraine does away with the charge of pro-Germanism which was freely levelled at all those who advo-cated this autonomy. It was not a wise tendency among English writers to explain the Ukrainian publication broad charge of German propa-

Ukrainlans themselves, financed by Ukrainlans of all classes. In Austrian Ukraine it was often Lampered by Austrian Ukrainians, all rather in-clined to squabbling, and kept up by to Lemberg. It was mostly financed The King entered Ukraine and and the first revolution.

Mazeppa asked him to help the people, to deliver them from the Muscovite yoke and set up the country as fect, it left many restrictions which

As a matter of fact the Ukrainian who know the Germans best like them least. Muscovites or Great Russians may admire the Teuton aystem of efficiency. The Ukrainians are too much of an artistic nation to care over much for kultur without polish. If there are pro-Germans in Russia they are certainly not the individualistic. essentially democratic Ukrainians. Americans need not fear betrayal from that quarter.

Ukraine includes between the Black Sea in the south and the rivers Pripet and Desna in the north the most fruitful soil the greatest coal mines and the richest deposits of fron ore of amily and cooperation between the two nations will be strong.

It is, in short, a partnership, but henceforth Ukraine is to be a partner, but shich has escaped the attention of the Austrolation of the Stavropolskol and Therska governets, and and the eastern parts of the Stavropolskol and Therska governets, and subject. And that is the point shich has escaped the attention of the public abroad. The whole affair was public abroad. The whole affair was stilled in a few days.

Russia is greatly strengthened there, and a second the contrary they become of Starting Subject of the Stavropolskol and Therska governets.

Russia is greatly strengthened there, and only a little less than that of traily, Spain and Portugal together, the contrary they were in favor of all the Eastern of Traily, Spain and Portugal together, the contrary they were in favor of all the Eastern of Traily, Spain and Portugal together, the contrary they were in favor of all the Eastern of Traily spain and Portugal together, the starting that the dead of trails and the contrary they were in favor of all the Eastern of the southern districts is the soll inglined to the formation in the few days.

Russia is greatly strengthened there, the contrary they whole affair was strengthened there.

Russia is greatly strengthened there, the contrary they whole affair was strengthened there.

Russia is greatly strengthened there are also separate settlements of the scale of the starting that the dead of trails the was strongly opposed by the sale of the starting that tended to keep up the Stavropolskol and Therska governments.

In all these districts the Ukraine. On the period and starting the contrary they were in favor of a union or electration of all the Eastern and Stream and Stream and Starting the contrary they were in favor of a union or electration of all the Eastern of the contrary they were in favor of a union or electration of all the Eastern and Stream of Ukraine. Nevertheless Ukraine furcoal and iron.

> people, which has failed utterly among the peasants, who form 32 per cent of the population, has been more success per cent, of the total population. is partly due to the immigration of In June, 1914, the Archduke Franz only the Russian language, partly also dead," said the Russian reaction- necessity of industrial output. Life in aries to the Ukrainians, who had many towns of Ukraine had become placed great hopes on the heir to the of course Great Russian in character, Austrian throne. "Now ours is com- with the result that Kley, Odessa, Ekaterinoslay and Kharloy were. War followed. The Czqr came, saw fore the revolution, being gradually pear when Ukrainian officials replace

Great Natural Resources.

The famous black soil of Ukraine covers three-quarters of the country, To the north as well as in the Carpa-Then came the return of the Aus- Uhmo Mountains are some 119,000 square troops against Russia. He was cap- who introduced in the land the system trian troops. It is not surprising that kilometers of forests. The agricultural tured and sent to the Czar at Moscow, of serfs (slaves) which was already they were comparatively welcome. The soil covers 52 per cent, of the aggrebut succeeded in convincing him of in force in Great Russia. He again it situation is now reversed and all gate territory of Ukraine and 32 per European Russia, which is however

The annual production of cereals in Ukraine is two-thirds of the whole production in the Russian Empire. It s greater than that of Germany or France. The exportation of grains from Ckraine amounts to 27 per cen of the production, and of all the wheat exported from Russia nine-tentils comes from Ukrainian lands. As a matter of fact the trade of Ukraine is more developed than that of any part of the empire

Ukraine ranks highest among all the countries that comprise the vast Russian Empire as to the annual agricultural production Wheat rybariey are the staple crop of Russia's agriculture, and the annual products in Ukraine of these products amounts other farm products I'kraine's position

Beet root, for instance, is especially cultivated in the Ukrainian provinces of Podolia, Volhyma, Kiev and Khee on; those provinces together yield five-sixths of the sugar best production of all Russia Chraine produces almost all the tobacco of the empire, and she has the largest and finest rehards and vineyards of European

The numeros natural resources of Caraine furnish spiendid opportunite industries. As a motion of fact of a production of attack came from initicance to Russia.

